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DEWEY'S HALO DIMS

New Republic

WISCONSIN

Were the voters saying no to Eisenhower?

Is the Republican defeat prophetic?

NOW ON DISPLAY
IN WASHINGTON

The New 1954 Power-Steered,
Self-Regulating Business Government

OCT 23 1953

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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

The story now is the slow decay of the Eisenhower Administration. It began in the campaign a year ago when a good-hearted man and War Hero made promises that were really monstrous in their naïve extravagance. Smiling Eisenhower got a 6.6 million election majority but barely managed to pull his own party through, the total Democratic vote for Congressional nominees being actually 262,000 greater than for Republicans. Reporters following the campaign sensed ultimate national disillusionment in the dull vacuity of Ike's moralistic speeches, but the one-party press gloated in the victory of big business and the great war commander.

Then an amazing thing happened. Of a President's four-year term, the first year is crucial because his prestige is highest then and Congress most fluid. But Ike threw away the first year. Today his 15 or more commissions are still frantically trying to hack out parts of a program for him and tell him where he stands. Their final reports may be good, but they will be too late because Congress has now taken over. To the discomfiture of friends, Ike has consciously adopted a hands-off attitude toward Congress and, since 1954 is election year, it's now every Congressman for himself.

The theory was that Ike's popularity protected GOP Congressmen. But nine months after his great victory, in which the 9th Congressional Wisconsin District voted 2 to 1 for Eisenhower, the district reversed itself and voted last week 4 to 3 against the GOP in a special election. It went Democratic for the first time in history. It left no doubt that a farm revolt is in full swing. The news came to Ike at Hershey, Pennsylvania, shortly after he drove Mamie round the largest circus tent in the world, in a green, two-wheeled sulky behind a tired-looking dapple-gray horse, while the vast audience cleared its throat for "Happy Birthday to You!" He was out there to help raise $400,000 for his party, and it was an example of the slick, smooth Madison Avenue-advertising stage-management that featured last year's election. The tone was one of contrived wholesomeness, and it was just as skillful a performance as the saturation TV-radio "blitz" announcements in the campaign, and the homely, folksy TV show from the White House this Spring when Ike introduced his Cabinet. Everything was terribly wholesome and one hundred percent-ish, and in the midst of it came the sickening Wisconsin jolt.

Two days later at Kansas City Ike gave an answering farm speech which was probably unique of its kind and tells better than we can do what's wrong with the Administration. Presidents before have had good, or bad, farm programs, but Ike came out and said, in so many words, that he didn't know yet what his farm program was—a commission was working on it. Farmers should be patient, he said, and have faith; "the end result will be as sound and as carefully thought out a farm program as practical experience, expert knowledge and good judgment can devise."

What this means is that GOP Congressmen now know Ike can't re-elect them, and they are going out to give farmers virtually everything they want from here on.

The chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee — leader in the fight against the St. Lawrence Seaway — still receives money from a Columbus, Ohio, law firm, one of whose clients is the Pennsylvania Railroad, opponent of the seaway. The Senator is John Bricker (R, O.), the exposure is made by Scripps-Howard reporter Bob Crater, and the moral climate of the day is indicated by the ho-hum reception the press gives it. The ADA demands a Justice Department investigation but, as Bricker says, "Everybody knows I'm honest." It does seem a pity, as the *N. Y. Post* observes, that Crater couldn't have pinned this revelation on a New Dealer—then he'd have got a Pulitzer Prize.

Victor Johnson, executive director of the GOP Senatorial Campaign Committee, is linked with fabulously wealthy Texas oilman H. L. Hunt in drumming up talent for "Facts Forum," the TV-radio show that features McCarthy. Other newly rich Texans besides Hunt are playing an increasing financial role in support of Congressional die-hards. They comprise the Grandma Moses school of politics; primitives in oil.

Income taxes will be reduced 10 percent in an automatic cut next January and sound good to taxpayers. But they won't help the little man much. Just as taxes come down the new higher rates on social security contributions go into effect. These will just about balance off tax cut benefits on incomes up to $4,000 a year, it is estimated. On the other hand, of course, the 10-percent cut means a fine saving for the "Grandma Moses" group, and corportions are taken care of by ending the excess profits tax.

We think the Administration has just about dropped the idea of a balanced budget in the conventional sense and will aim for a balanced "consolidated cash budget." A good many economists have urged this as a criterion for years. It lumps under receipts the big social-security payments, which are listed in a separate trust fund category under the conventional budget. This is a bookkeeping device with a good deal of merit and actually gives a realistic picture of what's happening in the nation. Last month Secretary George Humphrey boasted the "cash budget" was almost balanced. The only trouble is that under this system those awful Truman deficits disappear: if employed, says Leon Keyserling, this system shows a surplus of $13 billion from 1947-1953.

Notes: Ike's use of horse and sulky at the Hershey show was designed, Elmer Davis says, to prove how little influence General Motors has on the Administration . . . Every touring American is besieged with questions on McCarthy from Europeans who think he'll take over the government; we like the answer attributed to Norman Thomas: "Don't worry too much, McCarthyism is a dirty skin disease—not a cancer." . . . Ike's 21-man advisory committee on housing consists of 10 bankers, five real-estate operators, two architects, two labor officials, a veteran, one representative of all church, civic, planning organizations.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Prairie Fires: Ablaze And Spreading

BONAFIDE prairie fires resulting from the nationwide drouth and political prairie fires resulting from Eisenhower, Benson and McKay policies are running a neck-and-neck race for pre-eminence in rural America.

Both kinds are breaking out everywhere, despite the General's personal effort to subdue the political variety at Kansas City October 15.

The political prairie fires result from three things:

1. Agriculture Secretary Benson's advocacy of low, "disaster only" price supports.

2. Benson's steadfast refusal to initiate direct cattle price supports.

3. Interior Secretary McKay's new electric power policy, threatening the wholesale power supply of several hundred REA co-operatives as well as that of great regions like the Pacific Northwest.

The power policy fire, kindled when McKay withdrew Interior Department opposition to Idaho Power Co. taking over the giant Hells Canyon Dam site, now engulfs the Southwest, the Southeast and the whole Missouri River basin. Southwestern REA generating and transmission contracts are now being abrogated by Interior at Congress' direction. A contract for all available federal power in the Southeast with Georgia Power Co. is pending, and REAs are fighting it. Now the Missouri Basin REAs are up in arms because Secretary McKay proposes to sell, irrevocably for 20 years, all available federal power in the Missouri Basin. Previously New Deal secretaries had made only short-term contracts for power with private utilities, so Interior could supply the increasing needs of preference customers, whose power needs are doubling every three to five years. Under McKay's policy, the REAs must immediately buy and start paying for power for both present and future needs—or be without sufficient power for their customers as demand increases.

Fearing ruin, Missouri Basin REA co-operatives have called a special, emergency session in Omaha October 22 to demand rescission of the new power policy, abandonment of the proposed 20-year contracts with private utilities, and a return to the New Deal policy of serving preference customer needs. The group represents over a million rural power users.

The cattle conflagration will reach Washington when Farmers Union's Jim Patton leads representatives of more than 20 states into Washington to demand cattle price supports from Secretary Benson and President Eisenhower himself. They expect to stay in Washington until officials see them.

Old-line cattle organizations, opposing direct cattle price supports and allegedly dominated by packers, have been confronted with new, rival organizations all over the West. The new, widely publicized Texas-Oklahoma cattle organization with headquarters at Dalhart, Texas, set up earlier this year, has now been copied in at least five additional states. When the touring House Agriculture Committee held a hearing in South Dakota recently, a new South Dakota Livestock Council appeared in favor of cattle price supports, challenging the position of the old South Dakota Stock Growers Association and its right to speak for a majority of cattlemen. Other state groups are prepared to do likewise.

Evidence of the spread of the political prairie fires is found in farm organization experiences. In Oklahoma, cow-country members are abandoning Farm Bureau and joining Farmers Union. The president of the Oklahoma Farm Bureau has resigned. Oklahoma Farmers Union expects to end the year with 70,000 members compared to 47,000 members last year. Farmers Union has been gaining membership steadily at about 10 percent a year recently. This year several states, like Oklahoma, will jump 25 percent to 50 percent, including Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, the Dakotas and Minnesota. The Union's membership is increasing everywhere but Nebraska, where the state Farmers Union organization is so ultra-conservative its state president won a membership on Ike's National Farm Advisory Committee.

Farmers Union also has gained a strong membership toe-hold in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Virginia—previously impenetrable Farm Bureau strongholds.

The Farm Bureau, in contrast, has open revolts. For example, a Montana county FB recently called for cattle price supports contrary to the national position. A Minnesota county FB sent its president to the House Agriculture Committee hearing in St. Paul to oppose the low price-support position of their state president.

The prairie fire smoke is not yet so dense as in Farm Holiday Association days, when milk trucks were upset, courts were defied and the sheriff couldn't get more than a penny bid on a bankrupt farmer's possessions. But the fires of drouth and declining income—plus the new electric power issue—are ablaze and spreading.

Strong Man

McCarthy's State Department watchdog, R. W. Scott McLeod, frightened Community Chest officials out of their wits a few days ago—just by being himself.

As Chief of Security and Consular Affairs, McLeod warned the 1,142 employees in his charge that anyone who did not contribute to the Community Chest would be ordered to report to him personally.

"Excessive zeal," sputtered Chest officials, betraying just a touch of hysteria, "if necessary we'll go to Secretary of State Dulles himself."

"He was not trying to dragoon anybody," McLeod's assistants explained. "He just felt it was important to get a 100% showing."

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Taft's Replacement

THOSE who know Thomas A. Burke, the 55-year old four-term Democratic Mayor of Cleveland named by Gov. Frank Lausche to succeed Robert A. Taft, expect him to be a steady but not a conspicuous liberal in the Senate.

Organized labor has consistently supported Burke in each of his campaigns. But he has never been called a "rubber stamp." In the Christmas, 1949, transit strike, he sought a back-to-work injunction and enlisted the support of some AFL leaders who thought the transit workers had been hasty. When Democrats were searching for a candidate to oppose Senator Taft in 1950, Burke was one of the men acceptable to organized labor. But because of division among the Democrats, Burke decided not to run at that time.

Labor leaders are relieved. For years they have been at odds with the temperamental Lausche who refused to campaign against Senator Taft in 1950, and, as a Senator, he would not have been considered much of an improvement over Taft. Burke, while a good friend of Lausche, can be expected to support most Democratic attempts to revise the Taft-Hartley Act.

During Burke's administration, Cleveland became one of the few cities to enact a fair employment practices law. The new Senator did not originate the proposal to guarantee Negroes equal opportunity for employment, and this is typical, but he did support the move, taking strong measures to line up wavering Democrats in the City Council behind it.

Burke's appointment stopped speculation that Governor Lausche would try for the Senate himself in 1954. It now seems more likely that he will run for an unprecedented fifth term as Governor. This would make him a more serious contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1956 than if he were merely serving as a freshman Senator.

Ohio Democrats feel they now have a good chance of holding Burke's Senate seat in 1954. While his vote-getting ability has never been tested outside of Cleveland, Burke's overwhelming majorities there have come with the support of independents, some Republicans, and Ohio's most influential newspaper, the Scripps-Howard *Cleveland Press*. A Lausche-Burke "good government" slate next year could draw support from many voters who are not rank-and-file Democrats.

$3 Billion Bonus

THE Federal Power Commission wants to change the required accounting system for electric and natural gas utilities. The changes, if approved by the commission in a case now pending before it, would weaken the companies' long-term control over more than $2 billion in deferred taxes and might even bring reduced rates to hundreds of thousands of gas and electric customers.

One question in dispute before the FPC is whether the utility companies have received benefits not intended by Congress in the rapid tax write-off program, created to spur defense industry expansion in the Korean War emergency. To encourage private companies to build more and bigger plants, the Congress authorized writing off depreciation of the construction cases in five years instead of the much longer actual life of the new facilities.

FPC's staff wondered if such generous tax benefits ought to be re-examined in the case of regulated utilities. These utilities have a virtually assured "reasonable rate of income" at six percent or thereabouts. And rarely are they threatened with over-expanded facilities or lessening demand in the post-emergency period—if it ever comes. The FPC staff asked, in sum: are utilities entitled to risk rewards when they take no risk?

A day-long relay of lawyers for big utility companies pleaded against any such re-examination of tax deferments. They offered two main arguments. One was that Congress clearly intended the benefits to assure company owners against risk; that to take away any part of the deferment would be to frustrate the will of Congress and to do injustice to company investors. From the same side, and often from the same mouths, came a strange companion argument. This was that the companies really had received no tax savings whatsoever, since after five years of grace they would have to start the process of tax paying and eventually send in the identical amount.

Counsel for the National Rural Elec-

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tric Cooperative Association had stringent comment on this disclaimer of benefits. He noted that there has been no hazard for utility companies, which are still having trouble in meeting mounted demand for electricity and gas. He described the tax deferments as "interest free loans" from the government. And he stressed that utilities can always seek higher rates—if need be—to be sure of a reasonable return on investment.

Moreover, this assured rate of return on funds the companies can hold as deferred taxes would bring fully another $1 billion in benefits over the years for electric utilities alone, according to estimates by NRECA economists. With the nearly $2 billion that these utilities have had certified for rapid tax write-off, this additional $1 billion would give a total bonus of $3 billion over the 33-year average useful life of the expanded facilities. Since all of the nation's federal power projects—TVA and the rest—have cost only an estimated $2.7 billion, it is readily apparent that private power companies may yet win out in the competition for government aid.

While the co-op's attorney was plain spoken, the most severe criticism of the private utilities stand against passing on any deferred tax benefits to consumers came from the staff counsel for the FPC, Francis J. Walsh.

"In effect," Mr. Walsh said, "the utilities are asking rate-payers to prepay taxes not to the government but to the utilities themselves for a period of 30 to 100 years."

And, Walsh observed to poker-faced FPC members and frowning utilities' attorneys, there is a vast difference between taxes paid to the government "and paying amounts is the guise of taxes to a utility, which the utility will not pay to the government for a great many years to come and which will go to enrich stockholders unjustly."

McCarthy and the News

FOR A WEEK McCarthy has come from closed hearings on the alleged radar "leak" at Fort Monmouth, N. J., feeding out black headlines from his unsupported version of what happened; it's as pretty a set-up as Joe has ever had, and someday maybe we'll know if it's true.

The Winner Explains

TO HELP clarify the meaning of the Republican upset in Wisconsin's October 13 special election, the *New Republic* addressed some questions to the Democratic victor, Lester Johnson. Below are the answers which the new Representative of Wisconsin's Ninth District has graciously given:

* * *

Q: What did the election show farmers to think about Eisenhower's farm program?

A: Farmers are deeply dissatisfied with the way the program is working. They are convinced that Secretary Benson and the President are not concerned with doing anything about declining farm income. They have listened to too much talk about the "immorality" of price supports for farmers, while nothing is said about the subsidies that are given to the newspapers, bankers, airlines and other businesses.

JOHNSON

* * *

Q: Do farmers feel that drastic reorganization of the Department of Agriculture is needed?

A: Farmers are not concerned with the housekeeping chores in the Department of Agriculture. They are concerned with a substantive program that will provide stability in the farm economy.

* * *

Q: Did the Republican position on REA influence the results?

A: It certainly did. The Ninth District has a concentration of REA co-ops that is second to none in the nation. There are thousands of farmers in the district that would not have electricity today were it not for REA. They have been deeply disturbed by the attacks on the REA program and the power program generally. I used that issue quite extensively in my campaign and was greatly aided when former REA Administrator Claude Wickard came into the district to campaign with me.

* * *

Q: What does this election indicate farmers want in the way of a price support program after the current law expires next year?

A: There is little question that the vote in the Ninth District indicates that farmers want, as a minimum farm program, a continuation of the present support law. There are many who believe that a more permanent long-range program along the lines of the Brannan Plan should become national policy. My own feelings, which I told farmers and consumers during the campaign, is that some such program is needed to provide stability in the agricultural economy and at the same time give consumers a better chance to buy farm products.

* * *

Q: What do you think is a feasible program for supporting the prices of perishable commodities such as dairy products?

A: I have no easy answer for handling the problem of dairy support prices. It is a tremendously difficult problem for several reasons, including the perishability of the products. But it does seem to me that some program along the Brannan line, in which the government would pay the farmer the difference between the market price to the consumer and the support price would not only help the farmer and the consumer but would help enormously in meeting the problems of surplus.

* * *

Q: How do Wisconsin farmers feel about McCarthyism?

A: McCarthyism was not an issue in the campaign. When people asked me how I stood on him I told them frankly that I was opposed to him. Some of his tactics were used in the last days of the campaign when my opponent went on the air to attack me and my supporters as "Alger Hisses." But people were not interested in this. They were interested in voting a protest against policies that they feel are definitely threatening their economic security.

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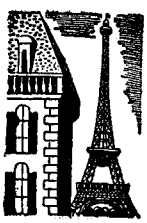
Paris Dispatch: LIBERATION AND THE H-BOMB

The Germans have known longer and better than many other peoples that a modern nation's power both in peace and war can depend upon the success of abstract research in scientific laboratories. It is quite natural therefore that they should be planning to build a nuclear energy plant. Professor Werner Heisenberg, the Nobel Prize winner in physics who directs the famous Max Planck Institute in Goettingen, says that work will begin as soon as ratification of the Bonn treaties gives West Germany full, independent national sovereignty.

Yet there is little worry in France about Heisenberg's plans, either among the Right nationalists or among the Left pacifists. German scientists undoubtedly have the skill and probably also have the will to take the first theoretical steps on a road that could lead practically to making atomic and hydrogen bombs at least as good as those of the Americans, the Russians and the British. But the French know that the road is blocked by lack of other means in Germany, notably the enormous sums of money that would be required.

Similarly, Russia isn't really worried about the effects of the Bonn treaties. The independent sovereignty they will give West Germany is nominal. For true sovereignty amounts to a nation's possession of the means of promoting its people's interests *independently* in time of peace, and of defending these interests by force of *its own* military arms in time of war.



Germany isn't in such a position. What the Russians and some of the French fear when they talk of the revival of German militarism is not what West Germany wants to do or can do by and for herself, but what she can do if the US, either openly or secretly, uses it as America's chosen instrument against Soviet power. In the European view there is therefore a certain lack of candor in Secretary Dulles' belated recognition that both Russia and France have the right to assurance about Germany's future.

So far as the US is concerned, the dominant military fact in Europe since the end of the war has been the threat of Soviet aggression. In Europe itself, however, this has not quite blotted out other important and related facts. Every country in the whole of continental Europe has been dependent. In the absence of true national sovereignty, the notion of surrendering and pooling some of the nominal, remaining sovereignty has been rather less attractive here than in the US. The countries of Eastern Europe have obviously lacked sovereignty: part of the proof has been the presence of the Red Army on their soil. The countries of Western Europe have also lacked sovereignty because their very existence was guaranteed by the promise of US protection. The political effect of this fact was an attitude of psychological acceptance — at times querulously complaining but none the less real—of a species of benevolent protectorate which gave the US the uncontested—or at least unavoidable—right to European and world leadership.

Confirmation of Russia's possession of atomic bombs didn't seriously affect this attitude. The US was considered too superior for the quality of its protection, and hence the right of its leadership, to be questioned. And the quality was based both on high moral principle and on a large stockpile of atomic bombs. The argument for the EDC was that it might hold the aggressors on the ground long enough to permit US destruction of them from the air. Some of the doubters wondered what would happen to Europe from the air during the interval. Nevertheless, not even the news of Russia's possession of the hydrogen bomb changed the general European attitude.

But the sequel in the US of that news is definitely making a change. Operation candor is having important incidental effects in Europe, increasing both in degree and in kind the differences between US and Western European public opinion. The US attitudes (in the plural) toward the problems of national, European and world security created or aggravated by the Soviet H-bomb is affecting the nature of popular European acceptance of US leadership.

Reports from across the Atlantic are conflicting and confusing. Some are of a mounting wave of almost hysterical anxiety about the countries' vulnerability to a nuclear Pearl Harbor, and of conflicts between neo-isolationists and preventive warriors. Others are that people are indifferent, so sure of continued US superiority that some of the highest officials, themselves frightened, feel the need to embark on a high-powered campaign to alarm the apathetic out of their ignorance. Some officials are quoted as believing that the Russians don't really have the bomb or won't be able to use it for years to come. Whatever the facts may be, the impression is spreading over here that operation candor is by no means dependably candid. Information which should be accurate seems tainted by political propaganda and salesmanship. The effect among Western Europeans is to make them worry whether fear has now become a factor to be taken into consideration in US policies, and to wonder whether the United States in its present mood couldn't use some back-seat leadership from over here.

If the US fears that it won't be able to protect itself, let alone Europe, isn't the political answer the co-existence which leading anti-Communist Europeans have long preached? If neither an *entente* nor a *détente* between West and East is possible, isn't the only practical goal that which a Frenchman has called a relatively cordial *mésentente?* If operation candor were really candid, Europeans believe, General Eisenhower would tell the American people quite frankly that due to circumstances outside his control—that is, Russia's H-bomb—he has to withdraw his election promises of liberationism and resume the policy of containment where Harry Truman and Dean Acheson left off. In Soviet Russia's present mood, due probably to circumstances outside Georgi Malenkov's personal control—that is, accumulated economic distress and discontent, it is quite possible that such candor would have more effect in removing the fear of German aggrandizement than pious, platonic promises of security parading as nonaggression pacts.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial: Salt for a Wound

THE DECISION to transfer Zone A of Trieste from Anglo-American to Italian control almost certainly was not made in the State Department, the Foreign Office or even the White House; it originated in the Pentagon. And although the currently circulated political explanations probably influenced it, the decision seems essentially part of a change in global military strategy determined by the explosion of a Russian hydrogen bomb.

The decision, of course, is a personal diplomatic triumph for our Ambassador in Rome, Mrs. Clare Booth Luce. And in getting Secretary of State Dulles to change his recently stated attitude toward Trieste, she undoubtedly knew how to take advantage of US domestic political problems. The Republicans need votes next year, and the Italian-American vote is far larger than the South Slav vote. Marshal Tito's attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church makes any step against him a good bid for the Catholic vote in general. And the Nixon-McCarthy wing of the Republican Party makes no distinctions between Tito's and Moscow's brand of Communism.

In pleading for Italian Premier Pella, Mrs. Luce was also able to argue that if he were overthrown chances for either Italian ratification of the European Defense Community Pact, or for any continuing stability in Italian government would be considerably diminished.

But Mrs. Luce's arguments only became decisive within the context of a strategic decision to shift emphasis gradually away from land forces spread throughout Continental Europe to air bases along the Mediterranean.

To be used for nuclear weapons, such bases must be in politically "safe" countries. Only a few weeks before the Trieste decision, the long negotiations between US and Spain were terminated. A few days after the Trieste decision, Field Marshal Papagos and US Ambassador Cavendish Cannon signed a treaty permitting US forces to use Greek air and naval bases.

Italy is not politically "safe" in the sense that Franco's Spain and Papagos' Greece are. But Pella could well argue—through Mrs. Luce—that under his direction Italy might be made "safer" than a country of dissident Communists which has recently resumed diplomatic relations with a new Soviet regime. In any case, where the new strategy would not require nuclear air bases in all Southern European countries, it does require sea-air co-ordination across the total breadth of the Mediterranean—Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey—with a deep support area in Morocco and Libya.

But these considerations did not require that the Trieste problem be handled in a manner detrimental to the existing defense system. Even when finally established, a system of co-ordinated sea and air bases will be to a degree dependent upon defenses to the North.

What is required is *both* a "safe" Italy *and* a friendly Yugoslavia—in other words, a Trieste settlement. And that is probably all the Pentagon demanded. Choice of means is the function of the State Department. And the *opéra bouffe* method of first thumping the table and laying down the law, then backtracking when the reaction sets in reveals the fine hand of Mr. Dulles.

Trieste is the emotional focal point of a problem involving the entire Balkan peninsula, and can only be settled in terms of that problem. Yugoslavia believes all great powers should be evicted from the area and that the Balkan people should be permitted to form a federation strong enough to guide their own destinies. She sees herself as leader. And she broke with Russia rather than submit to Moscow's plans for the federation.

Italy was expelled from the Balkans during the last war; and Yugoslavia has opposed establishment of an Italian foothold at Trieste because she believes it will be expanded to include the entire Dalmatian coast.

Still, Zone A, including the city of Trieste, has a population of 240,000 Italians and 60,000 Slavs, and Yugoslavian leaders would probably drop all claims to the city if they were offered in return a guarantee against further Italian expansion in the Balkans, an international guarantee. But our past decisions on Trieste have been taken to influence Italian elections.

This time we tried to salvage an Italian election. The choice for Tito was resistance or a public humiliation which would strengthen those in his regime who feel uncomfortable in the Western Camp.

Yugoslavia has allied herself to the West to attain certain economic aspirations. But her leaders have never been prepared to sacrifice major political objectives for economic advantages. If they determine to pursue their Balkan ambitions alone, they would split the Yugoslavia-Greece-Turkey alliance upon which defense of Europe's southern flank depends.

Yugoslavian Communism has been modified through contact with the West; it could change still more. Close ties to the West will also keep her Balkan ambitions from getting out of bounds. There is, in short, every reason to keep Yugoslavia within the Western alliance. She probably wants to stay in. And now that Dulles has been forced to abandon his original position, realistic negotiations could provide a long-term settlement.

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A New Design for Government

Beneath seeming confusion in Washington, a careful plan for business self-regulation is in effect.

by Tom Fitzsimmons

THE NEW "team" in Washington might on occasion seem to be playing football in a thick fog. But it knows what it's doing and where it's going. The economic philosophy of the Republican Party is being translated into reality—rapidly and efficiently.

The antitrust laws are under review by men who are expected to recommend changes allowing—encouraging—increased concentration of economic power.

The Federal Trade Commission—authorized to find and prosecute violations of antitrust laws—has a new chief who has gouged out its eyes and is chopping off its arms.

The Department of Commerce includes a new section—the Business and Defense Services Administration—where businessmen, paid by their firms, will come to administer the government's accelerated tax amortization, plant expansion, stockpile buying and materials allocations programs.

When Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson murmured "What's good for General Motors is good for the country," he was only giving succinct expression to a venerable philosophy of economics. And his dismay at the public reaction was genuine. Hadn't the Republican Party nursed this philosophy since the Victorian Era? And had not the American people chosen that party to lead? Why the furor? In a few concrete words he had voiced the Republican credo: prosperity sifts down from the top; so government should busy itself discovering ways to help business. And who could know better what is best for business than businessmen? The logical corollary is obvious, and it has determined each major and most minor appointments made by President Eisenhower since he took office.

THE National Association of Manufacturers, founded in 1895, already incorporated the full-blown idea and, in 1921, sold it to Commerce Secretary Hoover to whom it was a revelation. The banner of that crusade read "Self-Government in Industry." It fostered a series of trade-practice agreements by which government was to delegate direction of economic affairs, industry by industry, to business leaders: the "New Economic Era"—Hoover's dream. In 1929 all the bubbles burst.

The NRA of the early 30's adopted the "self-government . . ." idea and threatened to transform the leading trade associations into (red-blooded) cartel-like bodies with extraordinary powers directly in conflict with antitrust legislation. So the idea was discarded. But the NAM gathered it up, dusted it off and put it to work. It became the central theme of a "public education" word barrage beginning in 1934, increasing in volume and intensity until today, and costing hundreds of millions of dollars. The public was to be sold, in toto, the objectives, the ideals and the program of the business community. The NAM's campaign for governmental aid and support—dating back to 1895—became a crusade against "government interference with business," and later, as advertising firms gained finesse, "creeping socialism." The "New Economic Era" beckoned as brightly as ever: if the government would not "co-operate," business would educate the people until they elected one that would co-operate.

They won. They put over the idea, and the men appointed in accordance with it are faithful to it. The three projects described above are aimed simply at allowing business to govern itself, which, since business does not function in a vacuum, practically means allowing business to dictate the economic life of the nation.

By January, 1953—Year of the Big Change—a major war and a limited war in quick succession had already given industry a toehold in Washington. To convert from a peace- to a war-time basis in the early 40's, Washington needed businessmen and it needed them fast. At the outset the recruits from industry more or less set their own terms: government salaries were too low so they would remain on the private payroll—often taking a raise—and come to Washington as dollar-a-year men or work as WOCs (without compensation). The opportunities for abuse, of course, were incalculable. Congress frowned. First, the WOCs were expressly prohibited from passing on contracts involving their own firms. Then, largely as a result of investigations by the Truman Committee of the Senate, stricter regulations were enforced.

The Truman Committee noted that:

> . . . dollar-a-year and WOC men . . . are in a much better position than the ordinary man to know what type of contracts the government is about to let . . .

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what shortages are imminent and to advise their companies on how best to proceed. . . .

In addition to the above benefits, the companies loaning WOC men obtain other and less tangible, but perhaps even more important benefits. [WOCs] subconsciously reflect the opinions and conclusions which they formerly reached as managers of large interests with respect to government competition . . . taxation and amortization . . . financing of new plant expansion . . . and margin of profit. Since they represent the largest companies, this means that the defense program in all its ramifications must obtain the approval of the large companies.

The Truman Committee recommended that all WOCs be required to resign their private posts and accept government salaries. To the argument that these men could not afford to accept government salaries because of the standard of living to which they had accustomed themselves, the then Senator Truman answered: "Those who cannot forego large incomes *temporarily* cannot reasonably be expected to take a chance of foregoing them *permanently* by taking positions . . . with which the controlling officials of their corporations are not in sympathy."

But the emergency was too great; the government had to satisfy itself with regulations, enforcement of which was subordinated to the need for getting the job done.

KOREA brought a new problem: partial mobilization. Washington was at a disadvantage and businessmen were wiser. This time they could write their own ticket—and they did.

General Electric's Charles E. Wilson set his price for coming to Washington as Defense Mobilizer: the broadest grant of power ever enjoyed by an official, other than the President, in peace-time. He got it.

At each point where crucial economic decisions would be made, he placed WOCs bound together by friendship and long association on the boards of directors and in the management of interlocking companies. Only a handful had the special qualifications set down in World War II regulations on the use of WOCs—most came from the sales departments or the front offices of large corporations. But Wilson was having no bureaucratic interference. The World War II regulations had been replaced by two executive orders—vague, contradictory and ignored.

In 1951, a House Subcommittee on Monopoly Power reported on the Mobilization Program. It found that most of the WOCs came "from only the largest corporations." Seems that the job of finding these men had been given to the US Chamber of Commerce "which wrote to the presidents of a select list of large corporations soliciting personnel to staff important positions in Washington." "Selection," said the report, "was on a company rather than an individual basis. . . . Since their frame of reference is not often representative of all segments of industry, sound policy would not place them in a position to dominate the entire mobilization program." They were so placed.

The Subcommittee also worried about the use of Industry Advisory Committees. The Attorney-General had sent a series of letters to the WOCs. He suggested minimum requirements to be observed in meeting with these Committees to guard against violations of antitrust legislation. When the Attorney-General was ignored, the President backed him up with two letters of his own. But the Subcommittee found that neither the Attorney-General's nor the President's proposals had been carried out, and that:

These Committees wrote drafts of orders, suggested specific dollar and cents prices, and drew up zone systems of pricing.

Serious questions exist as to the representative character of commissions comprised solely of prime producers in highly integrated industries. . . .

Big business apparently was very much in government; some of the results:

In two years, tax write-offs to encourage rapid plant expansion totalled $26 billion. During the six years of World War II the total was $7.3 billion. "A substantial share of the prime contract awards and of the certificates authorizing rapid tax amortization," said the Subcommittee, "was inured to the benefit of the very large corporate entities."

Twenty industry divisions in the National Production Authority, each headed by a man from the industry concerned, determined who got what raw materials in what amount. "Thousands of small manufacturers are facing extinction," the Senate Small Business Committee reported. "The flow of many essential materials to small plants has been all but choked off." Steel, for example. You could buy it in the "gray market" at prices "200 and 300 percent above mill price." Most small businessmen couldn't pay so much; they were no longer in business. Yet, during 1951, the automobile industry was allowed enough steel to produce 10 million cars—25 percent more than they had ever before built in one year.

You could buy aluminum, too. The WOCs first decided to conserve that metal by cutting off 75 percent of the aluminum fabricators—they used five percent of the supply. The order would have ruined some 14,000 small firms; they protested. A belated investigation disclosed that exports had been allowed to exceed quota by two-thirds. The way you got aluminum, if you were small, was to buy it in Kansas after it had been shipped to England then back to Kansas. You paid a little more.

Business was, to a degree, governing itself—and demonstrating its inbred penchant for governing through an aristocracy of size.

The Korean fighting ended. Most government controls came off, and the defense effort reached the "long-pull" plateau. One would expect that government would be returned to public servants paid by public funds. If some WOCs were still needed, no longer would the press of a "crash" emergency program overrule the

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manifest need to regulate their work for the general interest.

But what's good for business is considered good for the country, and Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks has just formed a new agency—the Business and Defense Services Administration—which will not only perpetuate but increase the role of WOCs in government.

Four days after Weeks announced the new agency, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D, N.Y.), Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Monopoly Power at the time of the report quoted above, stated that "in placing all its functions entirely at the disposition of WOCs, it lets down all the bars. Although they are paid by private companies, these men will have a leading role in determining government policies and administration with respect to tax amortization certificates, lending programs, federal purchases, and other important matters directly affecting their companies and their competitors."

The new agency will be bossed by Charles F. Honeywell, California and Hawaii businesman, who has agreed to accept a government salary. Beneath him are three Assistant Administrators, all WOCs, one of whom will run the Office of Small Business.

Again there will be Industry Advisory Committees, and the influence of trade associations is to be increased. The BDSA, reads Weeks' order, will be "the logical point in government for representation of the . . . interests of business and industry in their relations with other governmental agencies. It will obtain the views and advice of business through . . . consultation with industry councils and industry advisory committees, and through co-operation with trade associations."

And again there are industry divisions—25 of them—headed by men receiving salaries from firms competing within the industry concerned. For example:

Aluminum Division: Harry L. Smith, Sales Manager, ALCOA.

Iron and Steel: H. J. Wallace, Sales Vice President, National Tube Division of U. S. Steel.

Electrical Equipment: Bonnell W. Clark, retired Sales Vice President, Westinghouse.

Chemical and Rubber: Norman E. Hathaway, Sales Manager, Davidson Chemical Company.

WHILE THESE WOCs are shaping policies reflecting their business-experience-born economic philosophy, the regulatory agency which normally would turn a spotlight onto any resulting infraction of the antitrust laws will have been effectively blocked.

The Federal Trade Commission has a new Chief, Edward F. Howrey. His qualifications include a distinguished career defending large corporations before the Commission in the course of which he has demonstrated a brilliant talent for initiating time- and money-consuming delays. The case against one of his clients—The Automatic Canteen Company—was opened in 1943 and is not yet settled.

Shortly after taking over, Howrey dismissed Austin Forkner, the FTC attorney who opposed him in the Automatic Canteen Case. Forkner's two assistants also were fired. No one else in FTC is familiar with the case.

FTC's anti-monopoly work is centered in its Anti-Monopoly Bureau and the Bureau of Industrial Economics. Both have been gutted. FTC appropriations were reduced by $125,000 this year. Salaries of lawyers dismissed or transferred out of the Anti-Monopoly Bureau total $140,000. Gone among others are the lawyers handling cases against B. F. Goodrich and US Steel. In addition, 16 of the 30 economic staffers have been done away with, including four top-flight economists with very highly distinguished records in monopoly problems.

The firings thus far account for $270,000. Important economic investigations and effective prosecution by experienced attorneys are now impossible. The Division of Financial Research, on the other hand, where statisticians turn out reports useful to big business but neither required from the FTC by law nor related to any of its work, has lost one statistician.

WITH THE FTC quiescent and Weeks' new BDSA dynamic, Republicans can put their economic theories to work without delay. But the antitrust laws are on the books and they might, in time, prove embarrassing. So those laws are being studied and recommendations to "improve" them will be made.

The "Attorney-General's National Committee to Study the Antitrust Laws" has 58 members. All are attorneys. Of the 58, 30 have appeared for a total of 190 defendant corporations in antitrust cases. Twenty-three of them appeared for 105 defendants before the FTC and in related court proceedings. Edward F. Howrey, Chairman of the FTC, is a member of this committee and belongs to the latter group, having appeared for eight defendant corporations before the FTC. Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks is also on the committee. The liaison between the three phases of the new economic program seems well established.

Obviously, when Defense Secretary Wilson refused to sell his stock in General Motors last winter he was only making a mistake of timing. Seen in terms of the future promised by the program outlined above, Wilson's disgust at having to make such an empty gesture is understandable.

Our antitrust laws reflect a theory: that economic and political democracy are inseparable, that the destruction of one negates the other. Yet despite those laws and twenty years of an Administration on the whole determined to enforce and improve them, the men who have labored so long to elect a Republican Administration, and who are now being given control of our economic life, have managed to concentrate economic power to an extraordinary degree. The facts bear repeating. One half of the total productive facilities in the US are owned by 113 corporations. One hundred banks own

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50 percent of all commercial deposits. Six investment banking houses handle 50 percent of all securities sold the public by investment bankers. Eighty-eight percent of all American communities have only one daily newspaper.

Similar figures could be given for each industry and service and for each segment of each industry and service. Yet they give only part of the story. The large corporations are interlocked many times. Companies in the machinery industry are linked with various primary material producers, transportation equipment companies and electric machinery manufacturers. The same is true of food, farm machinery, chemicals, oil, metals.

And still the story is not complete. Policy-determination power, centered in very small groups by means of blocked voting-interests, holding companies, interlocking directorates, and special trust funds, is further concentrated through trade associations. The biggest members of each association usually also belong to the National Association of Manufacturers or one of the "co-ordinating" organizations it controls. The NAM is designed to serve as policy co-ordinator for all industrial operations in America. Its policies are determined by a few men nominally elected but actually chosen through procedures entirely controlled by those already in power. And to that controlling elite, government is seen as an ally and a means for the furtherance of the interests of this system of interlocking business-control pyramids, and the indispensable means for attacking the ideological tenets of its detractors.

The basic feature of the whole system is monopoly power. Monopoly power is applied by, and feeds on two methods: Price discrimination and control of essential supplies.

Our giant firms have and can use both methods effectively. The vigorous application of antitrust laws, and the insistent safeguarding of the government's economic powers to assure their use in the public interest are the only effective controls to the dynamism all business rightly shares.

Control of essential supplies, both material and financial, is already dangerously concentrated. The new BDSA could easily be used to increase that concentration. The most effective form of price discrimination in basic industries is the "basing point" system—the essence of the German cartel system. With Supreme Court backing, our government threw out the "basing point" system in 1948. It is gradually being reinstituted—the word has gone about that there will be no prosecution—and soon pressures will be applied to give it full legal status.

Bitter Harvest in Wisconsin

Farmers recorded the price squeeze. Merchants and workers joined them to protest harder times. Is there a trend?

by E. B. Richards

REPUBLICANS have been looking hard for a plausible alibi to the surprise victory of a Democratic candidate for the House of Representatives in Wisconsin's rural Ninth Congressional District, but have found none. The plain fact is that Wisconsin farmers were angry about falling farm prices; they blamed the administration, justly or unjustly, and registered their protests at the polls.

As a result, Lester R. Johnson, an obscure Democrat from Black River Falls, turned in a thumping win over State Senator Arthur L. Padrutt, his much better-known Republican opponent, in a district that never before has sent a Democrat to Congress.

Right up to the time the votes were counted, Padrutt and his backers were convinced they would win easily, and well might they have thought so. They had all the advantages— a well known and seemingly popular candidate, a Republican district, plenty of money, and an efficient campaign organization directed by experts supplied by state GOP headquarters and Washington. They outspent the Democrats six to one.

Johnson, on the other hand, had held only one public office—district attorney of a small county—whereas Padrutt had represented the two most populous counties of the district in the legislature for 13 years. Johnson had little money and practically no organization. He posted his own signs on telegraph poles and in taverns as he made the rounds of the district to shake hands and pass out campaign blotters.

But just as in 1948, when President Truman confounded the experts by winning, the signs of Democratic victory were there, if only they could be read and believed. This time they were seen by both candidates, but it did not seem enough to balance GOP advantages.

Johnson and Padrutt saw the omens at the same time, about two weeks before the election. In Johnson's case, the light broke when he discovered that it was no longer necessary for him to apologize for being a Democrat, when he asked a woman in a Barron county crossroads

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tavern whether there were any Democrats around there. "Democrats!" she said. "There ain't no Republicans around here any more."

Padrutt's confidence was shaken on a tour of his own county, Chippewa. Most people he talked to were his friends, but they told him the truth: the farmers were angry. But they all said that they probably weren't angry enough to vote for a Democrat, and Padrutt believed it.

The returns showed that they had voted Democratic everywhere. In one rural town that always had turned in a GOP majority the vote was Johnson, 167, Padrutt, 27. And the feeling went so deep that even in the villages—backbone of Republican strength in Wisconsin—the merchants, feeling the pinch of lost farm income, turned on the GOP.

Typical of the attitude of both farmers and tradesmen was that of a barber at Stanley, Wis., who told Padrutt that everybody was "good and mad" at the Republicans.

"Mad enough to vote Democratic?" asked Padrutt.

"Darn right," said the barber, "and so am I. Business is terrible."

"Are they blaming Eisenhower?" insisted Padrutt.

"Someone's to blame," said the barber, shrugging, "and Eisenhower's in there."

In the last week of the campaign, Padrutt attempted to counter Democratic exploitation of the farm price issue. He and his entourage, including Republican Governor Kohler, who stumped harder than in his own campaign last year, explained and explained that it was really all the fault of the Democrats.

Meanwhile, Johnson was finding more and more farmers and farm implement dealers who said they had voted for Eisenhower but who now talked bitterly of "Eisenhower's depression," who cursed Ezra T. Benson and said "the Republicans are out to bust us again."

Seldom has an election centered about a single issue as much as this one did. Personality differences between the two candidates were negligible; each had a number of friends and few enemies. Each had a solid record as a La Follette Progressive in this stronghold of the La Follettes. When the La Follettes went back into the GOP in 1946, Padrutt followed them; Johnson, after one try for local office as a Republican, turned to the Democrats. Padrutt, nevertheless, was known as a "liberal" in the district, and voted in the legislature generally as desired by farmers and labor.

And while Democrats were lambasting the GOP for failing to concern themselves with the plight of the farmer, Padrutt based his entire campaign on support of President Eisenhower, who had won in the district over Adlai E. Stevenson last fall by a vote of 84,000 to 45,000.

It was, consequently, with some bitterness that Padrutt issued his statement conceding victory on election night. The statement was carefully drawn and had the approval of his campaign organization. It said that "the results show clearly that the farmer and the laboring man do not like the present administration's policies and took this opportunity to show their displeasure." Padrutt's campaign manager said that "no one could have won on the Republican ticket here Tuesday."

Nor has this view altered since. The saddened but realistic Republican chairman of the 9th district said sourly that "it appears that the pattern of American thinking is one of government protection for everything."

One Republican alibi was that the vote represented less than 40 percent of the potential vote in the district. But those in the campaign had expected far less than the 50,000 votes cast; Padrutt and his campaign manager foresaw 30,000 or fewer voters, and 50,000 in this district was considered high for a special election of this kind. The difference was made up of the farmers Padrutt had not thought angry enough to vote Democratic.

ONE OTHER alibi has been suggested by politicians and commentators. This is the theory that voters really were voting for the late Representative Merlin Hull, the octogenarian whose death precipitated the special election. Hull had been re-elected 10 times, and while nominally Republican (another former Progressive) had voted with the Democrats in Congress far more than with the GOP. Johnson "made more" of his former associations with the immensely popular Hull than Padrutt did, some said.

This theory overlooks several salient points. One is that Padrutt had followed Hull's path into the GOP while Johnson had not; therefore the association might better be made in that direction. The second is that the voters got more than a change of label when they voted for Johnson. They got an orthodox Democrat, not a maverick Republican. This is especially important when it comes to foreign policy, for Hull was an isolationist.

Johnson's distinguishing traits are hard work, sincerity and blunt honesty. When he became a Democrat, he accepted Democratic tenets, and he made no secret of them in the campaign. Even in personal campaigning, when no one is the wiser if the candidate suits his words to the voter's views, Johnson refused to trim. When asked about Senator McCarthy, he said that he thought McCarthy was "no good." When advised that he could pick up votes by endorsing the Bricker amendment, he denounced the amendment. When a merchant told him he rather liked the idea of a sales tax, Johnson said: "Don't vote for me, then."

A farmer asked him what he would do about farm prices. "I'd vote to keep up the subsidies," said Johnson, and the farmer winced at the word. "What about all these importations?" asked the farmer. "That's the trouble. . . . "

"I'm a Democrat," said Johnson. "Our party is in favor of world trade. We can't put up tariffs and expect to sell our things in other countries."

This does not mean that the voters of the 9th District, traditionally isolationist, universally approved these views. What it does mean is that the farmers of this

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district, when financially involved, considered economic issues more important than foreign policy. This was the situation in 1948, when President Truman won in the 9th district, carrying the same counties by almost exactly the same margins as Johnson ran up last week.

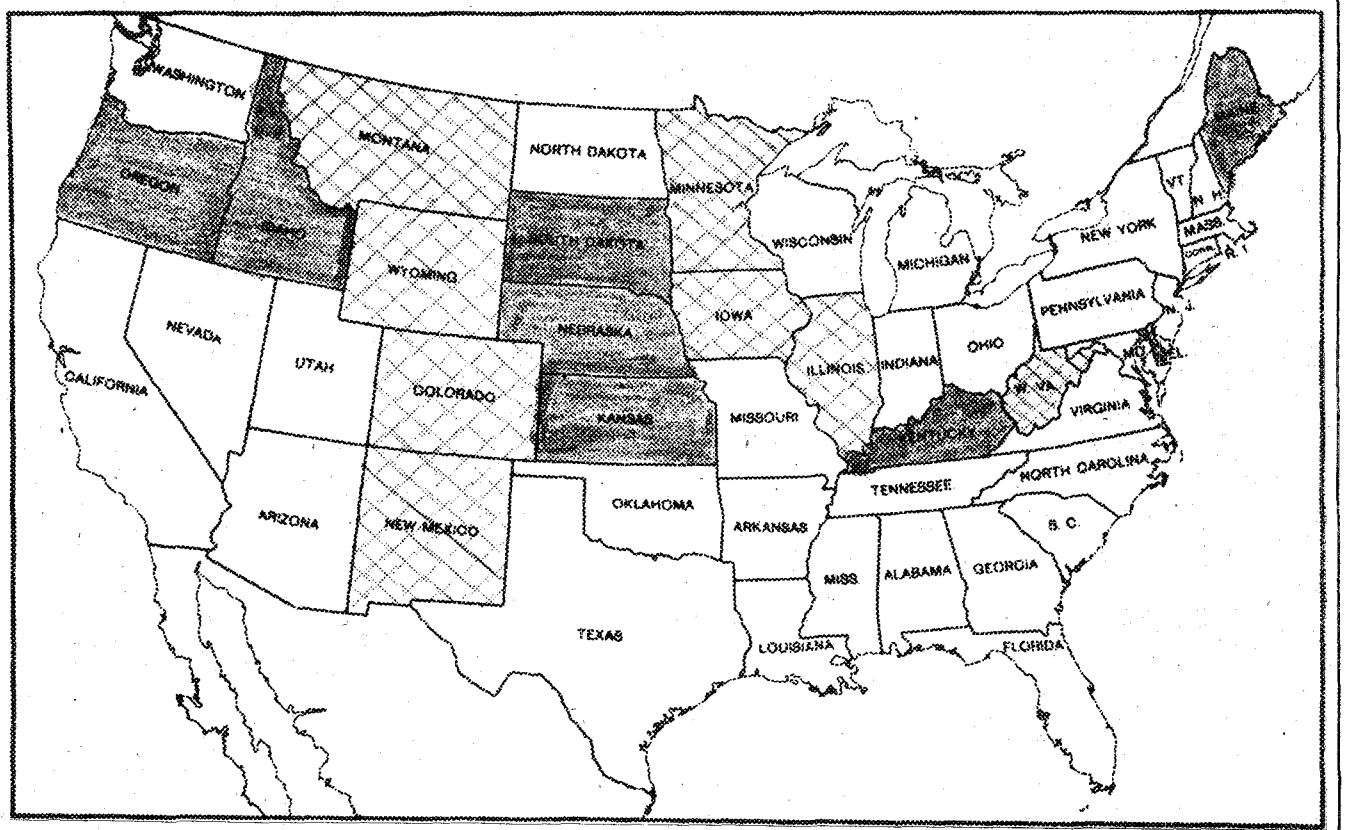
And that is what has Republican Washington worried. If the farmers are concerned with the pocketbook, all the magic of President Eisenhower's name and the best scare campaign in the world will not stem tide in the 1954 Congressional elections. Another 1948 is in sight.

One more note: It does not seem entirely logical to an impartial non-farmer that all the farmer's economic woes should be ascribed to the Eisenhower Administration, which, after all, has been in office a short time and has done little to change the farm program installed by the Democrats. But it does seem somehow just that this sort of unreason should plague the Republicans, who exploited to the hilt the same kind of resentment in blaming Mr. Truman for all the trouble in the world, including Russian aggression.

What Does Wisconsin Foreshadow for 1954?

The map below identifies the 15 States having rural populations of close to 50 percent which elect a US Senator next year. The eight states shaded solidly are now represented by Republican Senators. The seven shaded by cross-hatching are now represented by Democrats.

KEY TO STATES



Eighty-five of the 435 House seats which will be voted on in 1954 are classified as "marginal," meaning that they were won by majorities of 5 percent or less in 1952. Roughly 25 percent of those marginal districts are heavily agricultural and therefore subject to shifts in farm opinion. These are listed below. Those now represented by Democrats are italicized.

STATE	CONG. DIST.
California	*3rd*
California	*14th*
California	27th
Colorado	*4th*
Delaware	1st
Indiana	8th
Kansas	*1st*
Maryland	5th
Minnesota	*6th*
Missouri	4th and 6th
Missouri	*8th, 9th and 11th*
Montana	*1st*
Nevada	1st
New Jersey	*4th*
New Mexico	*1st*
New Mexico	*2nd*
North Carolina	9th
Ohio	6th
Virginia	6th
Virginia	9th

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The Dimming of Dewey's Halo

Racket busting brought Dewey to Albany. But corruption in his administration may block the road to Washington.

by Robert G. Spivack

NO GOVERNOR of New York ever brought with him to Albany more intimate knowledge of the ways of crooks than Thomas E. Dewey. And no Governor of New York in recent years has done less about them, until prodded by his critics. That's the explanation for the "mess in Albany" which has shaken the New York Republican organization to its foundations and which may have disastrous political effects on the Eisenhower Administration itself.

Dewey ceased being a district attorney, in everything except manner, years ago. Almost from the moment he became Governor and began to think of becoming President he lost interest in fighting corruption. But the legend of piety and superior virtue he has woven about himself has worn thin. Dewey has for years been walking a tightrope, and now unexpectedly it has begun to unravel.

The Dewey myths might have survived a while longer except for one of those accidents which no one can control. What started out as a minor intra-mob fight suddenly spilled over into a page-one scandal. Dewey, with the aid of some journalistic apologists, has been trying to contain it, but thus far there has been an exposé almost every day in some one of New York's afternoon newspapers.

This is what happened. Racketeers moved in on Local 32-E of the AFL Building Service Employees Union, which organized employees of the Yonkers Raceway, a trotting track in lush Westchester county. The mobsters fell out among themselves. A clean union leader named John Acropolis was killed about a year ago but nobody got excited. Then, on August 28, a racketeer named Thomas F. Lewis, who has pushed himself to the head of the local, was murdered in the Bronx by a hired killer, Edward (Snakes) Ryan. The murder came at the height of the New York Democratic primary battle between Mayor Impellitteri and Robert F. Wagner Jr. The Bronx district attorney questioned Impellitteri's campaign manager who, it turned out, had been hired by the raceway to act as a labor "pacifier." He was paid the above-union-scale wage of $96,000 for little, if any, work.

Thus far no evidence has linked this particular gentleman to the hiring of Killer Ryan. But the fact that one of Impellitteri's boys was so well-connected aroused the curiosity of newspapermen and of Rudolph Halley, the Liberal-Independent candidate for Mayor. One of the first stories to come out showed that the Yonkers track had employed about three dozen paroled ex-convicts to handle its nightly take.

This raised an important question. What was Racket-buster Dewey's Harness Racing Commission doing? Under New York law parolees are specifically barred from work in or around racetracks. A few inquiries produced some startling answers. The Harness Commission, which included a former member of Dewey's own staff, had been doing nothing but write glowing reports on the operations of the state's eight trotting tracks.

When the size of the "take"—$225 million at Yonkers during a short season—became known, reporters, as well as Halley, began to look into the ownership of the racetrack. And there Dewey's embarrassment began. It turned out that William F. Bleakley, once the GOP candidate for Governor and the de facto boss of Westchester, was not only attorney for the raceway but also served in the dual capacity of legal adviser and board member. Next the *New York Post* disclosed that J. Russell Sprague, boss of Nassau County on Long Island, Republican National Committeeman from New York and a Dewey political lieutenant in 1944 and 1948, had a financial interest in the Yonkers track. On the record he owns 4,000 shares of non-voting stock now valued at $400,000. A relative owns several thousand more shares which are, presumably, Sprague's. Years ago Sprague helped form a paper outfit which cornered the harness racing business in his own county. He sold out to the owners of the newly formed Roosevelt Raceway and then explained that he got rid of his stock because "his private interests and the public interest" conflicted. He never did tell to whom he sold his stock. Or what he was paid. Or, indeed, what he paid for the stock he now holds.

And Dewey thus far has asked no explanations from him.

As if the disclosures that Bosses Sprague and Bleakley were not embarrassment enough for the former crime-crusader, Halley came along to reveal that the son-in-law of the Public Service Commission chairman owned 8,000 shares of stock in the Long Island raceway. The head of the commission which is supposed to regulate public

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DEWEY

FAY

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utilities, Benjamin Feinberg, was former State Senate Republican leader for Dewey. His son-in-law, Irving T. Bergman, nominal owner of the stock, was head of a commuters' organization supposedly fighting the Long Island Railroad, once described by *Life* magazine as the world's worst. And the LIRR was supposed to be regulated by father-in-law's Public Service Commission. Somehow the PSC was always powerless to control the big, bad railroad, and the commuters' association never got anywhere fighting it either.

To even the most case-hardened reporters these facts were beginning to look juicy. Then came a perfectly-timed exposé in Hearst's *Journal-American*. The day after State Senator Arthur H. Wicks was sworn in as Acting Lieutenant-Governor the *Journal-American* disclosed that he had been paying visits at Sing Sing to Joseph (Joey) Fay, the convicted extortionist and ex-head of the building operators union.

By this time Dewey could no longer ignore what was going on around him. He ordered the State Department of Parole to make known the names of all those who had visited Fay. They turned out to be an assortment of Republican and Democratic politicians from New York and New Jersey, including the GOP candidate for Governor of New Jersey, Paul Troast. The list also included Mayor John Kenny of Jersey City, a variety of union leaders, and State Senator William F. Condon of Yonkers, N. Y., a Bleakley Republican.

After all this came out Dewey had to make some gesture. His silence already had been costly to the Republican candidate for Mayor of New York campaigning against the Democratic "mess in City Hall." Dewey picked Wicks for his scapegoat.

Those who have known Wicks in Albany have always regarded him as a likeable rascal. Some say he never pretends to be in politics for anything other than the money. He had been a Tammany Democrat, went to Upstate New York where he became Republican boss of Ulster County, head of a big laundry, which did a fair volume of public business, of a bank, became a political buddy of New York's William O'Dwyer, and closely connected with the racketeering elements in the operating engineer's unions.

Dewey demanded that Wicks explain his visits to Fay at Sing Sing. Not fully realizing the uncomfortable position in which Dewey found himself, Wicks blithely said he went up there on behalf of his constituents, "the working people of my district," to help prevent strikes. Everyone, he explained, knew that Fay even in prison was still the union boss. Dewey said Wicks' explanation did not satisfy him and apparently it strained the credulity of Wicks' colleagues, too. But they were not going to do anything about him. After all, Dewey had known about Wicks for many years, yet allowed him to be elected Senate Majority Leader.

But Dewey had decided to turn his back on Arthur Wicks. He has demanded his resignation as party leader and lieutenant-governor. Wicks said this was not within the governor's province, that he would leave it up to his colleagues at the "next session" of the Legislature. Dewey called a special session for November 17, after the New York election, at which time the Wicks case presumably will be handled with dispatch.

Although the Wicks case will make the headlines, it is not likely to end Dewey's ordeal. Questions about the raceway ties between Sprague, Bleakley, Feinberg's son-in-law, Senator Condon and a variety of other politicians in both major parties still remain to be answered. If Dewey insists that Bleakley and company be hauled in for questioning by a special commission, he will split the state Republican organization. If they are allowed to escape, the clean-government elements among the Democrats will have a field day, and Dewey's influence on the national scene will wane.

THE BIGGER question, though, is what made Dewey different. Without his protective influence William O'Dwyer would never have dared let New York City run wide open. Nor would gamblers and prostitutes have been able to flourish in Saratoga Springs, barely 30 miles from the Executive Chambers in Albany. The first overt signs of the rottenness creeping into the Republican state organization came in 1950 when another Lieutenant-Governor, Joe R. Hanley, disclosed that Dewey had promised him virtual lifetime security if he did not run for Governor. Dewey undoubtedly knew what sort of politician Hanley was, but his method of meeting the problems Hanley created were strange to say the least. But the seeds of destruction were there before the Hanley incident. Dewey began looking the other way when O'Dwyer took office. He didn't expect in 1946 that he would still be in Albany in 1953, so perhaps he figured that tolerating O'Dwyer was a safe risk.

There is nothing to indicate that Dewey himself ever participated in the extra-curricular financial enterprises that his associates have found so attractive. Neither did Harry S. Truman, but men in public life are judged by the conditions they allow to develop around them.

Dewey should have retired when he was still ahead. What happened to him seems to happen to all politicians who stay in office too long.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE POSITION OF BERTOLT BRECHT

by William Becker

BY FAR the most remarkable individual working today in the German theatre—one might well say, in the theatre anywhere—is Bertolt Brecht. He is the only living playwright whom one can justifiably rank among the master spirits of modern dramaturgy: Ibsen, Strindberg, Tchekov, Shaw, Pirandello, and Lorca. He is, in addition, a lyric poet of extraordinary gifts, and, as the French say, an *homme de théâtre* in the fullest sense. I suspect, in fact, that posterity will attach a much greater importance to the general theatrical aesthetic which he has formulated in his theoretical writings, and demonstrated in his stage work of the past few years, than to his plays as such. Today, a young playwright, seeking a way to repossess the great classical tradition of comedy—from Aristophanes to Ben Jonson on the one hand and the *Commedia dell'Arte* on the other—could scarcely be better served than by submitting himself to the influence of Brecht's ideas. That few young playwrights have actually done so is one of the less urgent, but no less real, misfortunes of the Cold War. For Brecht has worked during the past six years, since returning to Germany from exile in America, under the Communist regime in East Berlin.

This has made the most ordinary information about him and his work difficult to come by. In the ugly atmosphere of Berlin, where all standards except political ones have largely disappeared, cultural affairs have been absorbed into the general ebb and flow of political hostility, and cultural reportage thereby reduced to a minor division of the propaganda facilities. I was told that neither Werner Krauss nor Berthold Viertel (who has since died) would be well received in Berlin—Krauss because of his former Nazi connections, Viertel because of his left-wing background. Yet Krauss was the leading actor at Viertel's Burgtheater in Vienna—and the Burgtheater is one of the best theaters in Europe. My informant proudly spoke of Berlin's fine political awareness. The same sort of awareness makes it likely that one will hear about Brecht either that he has been repressed by the Party, and is about to be purged, or else that he has become a Party hack like the poet Johannes R. Becher and is now beneath consideration. Both views were offered to me in Berlin; neither bore much relation to the truth. Some of what one hears is, of course, wishful thinking; more of it is malicious gossip concocted by those caterpillar opportunists of cultural journalism whom the general situation tends to attract. Almost none of it tells us anything significant about how Brecht has really fared under the East German regime.

One fact is frequently cited to exemplify Brecht's supposed deterioration—that he has not written a new play since his return. Actually the point—which is not even true: Brecht has written a play about the 1871 Paris insurrection called *The Days of the Commune* which the Party thinks too defeatist and refuses to have staged—is quite irrelevant.

When Brecht left America, he had in hand at least half a dozen plays, written in exile, which he had never been able to stage. Among them were *Mother Courage, Puntila, The Caucasian Chalk Circle, The Good Woman of Setzuan,* and *Galileo.* He also had on paper the fundamental principles of his new anti-Aristotelian theory of *theatrical alienation* (1951), and they were largely untried in practice. What was needed was not more writing and thought, but some practical testing of these principles, and an opportunity to construct a permanent working theatre around them. In the past six years, these aims have been substantially fulfilled: Brecht's Berliner Ensemble is one of the three or four really formidable achievements of the post-war European theatre. (Anyone who wants to know how formidable has only to consult the huge volume of photographs and notes on all phases of theatrical art, published last year in Dresden under the title, *Theaterarbeit: 6 Aufführungen des Berliner Ensembles.*) It should also be mentioned that Brecht's literary talents have by no means been idle: almost every Berliner Ensemble production has involved textual revisions, or, not uncommonly, full Brechtian adaptation.

But what about Brecht and the regime? It is a complex and difficult question, and not one about which even the most scrupulous journalist can speak with much confidence. Yet some facts became apparent when I visited the Berliner Ensemble during my brief stay in Berlin immediately prior to the late June riots, and it may be helpful to set them down for the record.

There can be no denying that, from an economic point of view, the authorities have treated Brecht superbly. There are now nearly sixty actors at his disposal in the Berliner Ensemble, all paid by the State at unusually handsome rates by current Berlin standards. Every actor has two months vacation a year with pay. Brecht himself lives in a fine suburban house on the Weissensee, and also keeps a country place within a few hours of Berlin. Furthermore, Brecht's frequent travels in Western Europe indicate that he has had liberal access to Western currencies: it was even rumored a few years ago that he received a substantial part of his State income in dollars. The working facilities of the group are equally generous.

Directly across a large plaza from the Deutsches Theater, a bombed-out ruin has been converted with State money into the artistic headquarters of the Ensemble. Here are housed a sizable library, several spacious work areas, and a main rehearsal studio which is actually a small auditorium, excellently equipped, under the supervision of the Helene Weigel (the company's leading actress and Brecht's wife), with basic stage lighting, functional drapes, directors' and prompters' desks, and several hundred seats—all of the best modern design. I had never seen similar rehearsal facilities in any professional theatre; and I was reminded, more than anything else, of the lavish conditions in some American university drama departments. A few blocks away are the Ensemble's well-appointed and fully staffed business offices, looking much like producers' offices in New York.

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The chief difficulty up to the present time has been that the Berliner Ensemble has not had a theatre of its own. It has shared the Deutsches Theater with that theatre's resident company, and this has meant limited runs for not more than three or four productions a year. Consequently, I was told, the actors have at times grown lazy from enforced idleness, and few of them could be got to attend regularly the special classes in fencing and dancing which were offered to occupy them. The situation will presumably be remedied, and Brecht's program grow more ambitious, when the Ensemble takes over in January the Theater - am - Schiffbauerdamm, where Brecht started with *The Three Penny Opera* twenty-five years ago.

On the whole, I found a unique spirit in the Berliner Ensemble people. For one thing, they were young. For another, they inclined to be people of rather more general culture than one is accustomed to find in the theatre: many of them were bi-, and even tri-lingual. They seemed to be largely without the usual affectations and crude vanities. Nor did I find any evident political fervor: I was told that politics plays little or no part in the normal course of the theatre work; and in general, I felt that Brecht's people spoke in a more honest and relaxed way about politics than most of the people I talked to in the West. About a quarter of the actors actually live in the West, and have continued to do so even while pressure was brought by the Eastern authorities to persuade them to move. It was said of Brecht himself that he keeps his politics to himself, insists that the focus of theatre work should be theatre, and is exceedingly deferential to those members of the company whom he knows not to share his own views.

Thus the advantages which Brecht derives from his committment to the East are quite plain: the kind of operation most vital to this stage in his career has been made possible. But it would be foolish to pretend that he has not paid a price, even a heavy one. He has been under more or less constant attack by the Party critics recently, and two productions—*Urfaust* and his own opera, *The Trial of Lucullus,* with music by Paul Dessau—had to be withdrawn under pressure, and will not be produced again. Perhaps even more important have been certain political quarrels at the top levels of the Berliner Ensemble which resulted in the loss of some of Brecht's best people to the West. Erich Engel, his chief director, has gone; Caspar Neher and Teo Otto, two Western designers of real genius who collaborated on some of the Ensemble's most outstanding productions, will no longer work in the East; the principal actor in *Der Hofmeister* went back to Switzerland, and the production had to be withdrawn from the repertory for lack of a replacement; Therese Giehse and Leonard Steckel, both brilliant performers who had starring roles in the repertory, are now at work solely in the West, and presumably will not return. This has left Brecht strapped for performers of star-quality, especially male ones—a limitation that operates with special severity against his own plays, inasmuch as one of Brecht's seldom-noted but most distinctive qualities as a playwright has been his faculty for creating great individual roles in the classical tradition. His *Galileo* (in which Charles Laughton starred here) remains unproduced in Germany for want of an actor of sufficient stature: in the West, Brecht might have had Fritz Kortner.

Nor can Brecht's work claim much of a following in the East. It has, on the whole, been too highbrow for the ordinary public, and too "formalistic" for the Party intellectuals. The Berliner Ensemble stands rather apart from the rest of East Berlin's theatre. Brecht has often protested the blank artlessness of that "Socialist-Realist" *kitsch* which the Party critics promote, and it is significant that, while he ordinarily directs or oversees every Ensemble production, and notes the fact publicly in the program, he remained entirely aloof from the one play of this kind which the Ensemble has performed—a work about Soviet electrification projects called *The Chimes of the Kremlin* by a Russian Stalin-Prize winner named N. F. Pogodin. Especially since the June riots, Brecht has reputedly stepped up his attacks on the *Kunstkommission*; but his larger point—that Brechtian Epic theatre is actually more appropriate to a Socialist society than is Soviet-type Socialist Realism—seems to have made little headway either with the authorities or with other playwrights and directors.

It seems likely, in fact, that Brecht might have commanded a larger following in the Western zones (which are pretty much without any vital forces in their post-war theatre) and perhaps wielded a greater influence; for his political position, as rendered through his plays and theory, has not fundamentally altered since the days when *The Three Penny Opera* was the greatest popular success in modern German theatre history. Probably Brecht had this in mind when after the war he cagily chose to become, not an East German, but an Austrian citizen—a status which permitted him to travel and produce his plays in the Western zones, and thus to "ignore" (as he presumably pretended) the division of Germany. In the West he would unquestionably have been intellectually freer, but he might also—in a country where most theatre is State supported and controlled—have found it economically impossible to work. One must remember that it was the American occupation authorities who put obstacles in the way of his settling in Munich in 1947, and more or less forced his acceptance of the original East German offer. But for us, the important point which usually is missed in all the talk about Brecht's "position," is that one cannot demonstrate any *necessary* connection between Brecht's political position and his aesthetic one, that Brecht is not, by any sensible definition of the term, a "Communist playwright." That one may deplore his political commitment, and still profitably learn what he has to teach about theatres, seems an obvious thing to say. Yet since no one apparently is learning, and so many are inclined to deplore, it may also be a necessary thing to say.

CANDOR AND SECURITY

THERE HAVE BEEN books in technical terms and in popular ones on atomic science, on the military implications of the atom, on the medical aspects, the power potential, the political issues, the international problems it raises—even on the moral implications of splitting the nucleus. Curiously, however, there has been until now no simple history of the gigantic industrial production appa-

REPORT ON THE ATOM, by Gordon Dean (Knopf; $5).

ratus out of which all the potential good and evil spring.

Gordon Dean, until recently the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, now comes forward as an amiable and careful guide through that nine

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billion dollar factory. He spots the points of interest as best he can, and if too many things are omitted from his blueprint that one would like to see, it is the fault of security restrictions rather than of the author.

There is in fact a certain irony in the situation. Dean struggles as hopelessly in the jungle of *verboten* signs on his former property as other reporters used to do; his *Report on the Atom* contains precious little of a strategic and scientific nature that has not been revealed before. This reporter found only a couple of important declarations not hitherto disclosed by someone else in a position to know.

One is that there is a practical limitation to the explosive force of an H-bomb; above a certain power, the excess force would penetrate the earth's atmosphere of air and dissipate harmlessly into space—in the same sort of a geyser a depth bomb makes when its force spouts up through the surface of the sea.

A more important disclosure is that the purpose of the present vast expansion of AEC production facilities is to "enable us to meet our minimum security requirements four years sooner than would otherwise be the case." And he hints strongly that, once the new facilities are in operation, we shall be able to produce the maximum number of atomic weapons we need—a sort of absolute plenty, of which more would be superfluous and useless—in a very few years thereafter.

Dean has been frank in admitting some AEC errors—the housing fiasco at the Savannah River plant, for example—and forceful in his denunciation of present flaws, such as "lack of real cooperation . . . between the military and civilian authorities of the government" deriving from poor liaison between the AEC and the Joint Chiefs of Staff and improper lines of command and assignment of responsibility.

At odds with some of his former Commission members and with his successor as AEC chairman, Dean argues cogently for what is, in effect, "Operation Candor." He calls for disclosure to the public of much more information than is now available.

He would go so far as to reveal "some idea of the magnitude of our (atomic bomb) stockpile." Thus the peoples of the world, he feels, would have an accurate idea of the choice before them. "If they have been unable to make the right choice in partial ignorance, perhaps they will be encouraged to make it if they are given a true picture of the tremendously destructive potential of the world's stockpile of atomic weapons."

The portion of Mr. Dean's book most liable to provoke controversy is that containing his outlook on the future of atomic power. Obviously, he defends the point of view of the AEC's statement last spring. It calls for amendment of the law to admit private interests on what would doubtless be a most profitable basis for them and under economic safeguards as yet not spelled out.

The question that arises is the extent to which private companies are entitled to profit from the past and projected investment of some nine billion dollars of American taxpayers' money. A second doubtful point is how much of their own money the private companies are willing to venture on a truly risk basis. A suspicion on this point is justified, it would seem, by the fact that private companies have not been talking in large money terms—their own, that is—in their ambitious plans for atomic power development.

Dean asserts that the framers of the law clearly foresaw the need to amend it when the state of the atomic art reached about its present point, and economic atomic power became a possibility. This is a strange reading of Section 7 (b), which provided only that when it was time for private participation in the industry, the AEC should license it, let Congress have a 90-day look at it, and then proceed. A few Congressmen have already begun to wonder if the AEC proposal, which Dean champions, does not call for haste that is dubious as well as unseemly.

Use of fissionable material—uranium and thorium—that exists in economically recoverable quantities should expand the world's fuel resources by more than 20 times. There is enough coal, oil and gas for only about 80 years at the world consumption rate expected to be reached in the year 2000. By utilizing known reserves of atomic materials, fuels could last for seventeen centuries.

But, as any book such as Dean's makes clear, if you use enough of the atomic materials in bombs, you won't have to worry about running out of coal and oil. You won't be in a position to worry—about anything.

ALFRED FRIENDLY

ESCAPEES' TESTIMONY

THOSE who do research in Soviet political institutions have long been waiting for Professor Fainsod's study on the Soviet system of government. He has been at the center of the Russian interview project at Harvard in which Soviet escapees have been asked to tell how the Soviet system really operates. At last the book has appeared.

Although Professor Fainsod quotes no volume of interview material as such, it may be presumed that it has influenced his presentation and colored his conclusions. In the chapter on terror as a system of power these interviews must have been the major source of information, for Professor Fainsod has described in more detail than is possible from the published record this important feature of the power process. In the treatment elsewhere, Fainsod quotes in great profusion the conventional sources to expound a pattern which presents no surprises. It is comforting to those who have not had the interview material to see that work with familiar sources has not been moving in faulty directions.

HOW RUSSIA IS RULED, by Merle Fainsod (Harvard; $7.50).

The strongest part of the book is the analysis of the Communist Party as the central core of the Soviet power structure. It is here that Professor Fainsod, as one of America's most eminent students of power structures, is obviously enjoying himself. Nowhere else is there such a meticulous running down of the sources to disclose details previously undiscovered or ignored. Half of the book is devoted to Party history, doctrine and functions. As to the history, Professor Fainsod concludes that Lenin was responsible for the germinating conception on the basis of which all intra-Party opposition came to be extinguished. Stalin is found only to have perfected the idea and the mechanism of repression.

Stalin's rise to power through the instrumentality of the Party Secretariat is developed, and the reader is shown how he extended his power over the policy bodies by getting their size increased to permit "packing" with his own supporters. The total number of paid Party functionaries is estimated as being 194,000 which Fainsod finds small in a Party of over 6 million. He concludes that the Party apparatus will

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outlive the ruler and perpetuate his system of rule long after the forces that created it have been forgotten.

The power of the Kremlin to mold children is considered much greater than we of the West have appreciated previously. Professor Fainsod reports that Soviet defectors emphasize the decline in ideological *élan* of youth over the years, but he concludes that in the main the Soviet leadership has built a powerful body of public support.

In the international sphere, the author concludes that Kremlin dreams of world power are not based on force alone. He believes that if the Soviet Union is confronted by a strong West so that its position is relatively weaker than it has been, it is possible that it will lose its evangelical fervor and resign itself to function within a framework of limited objectives.

The mass agencies such as the Soviets, and the administrative mechanism of the state seem to interest Professor Fainsod little. He laconically writes the constitutional provisions without vitalizing them with analysis of their role in the power structure. This section of the book is first class textbook treatment, but it seems to lack the brilliance of the sections on the Party. Perhaps needless to say, the importance of the judicial system in the power structure seems to interest Professor Fainsod no more than it does most political scientists.

Without any question this book is going to be one of the most popular texts in American comparative government classrooms for some time to come. It can also be read with profit by the lay reader not interested in teaching. It is a valuable and arresting addition to the literature on the Soviet system of government.

JOHN HAZARD

OBSERVER IN THE SOVIET

Russian Assignment must be read by any American attempting to understand the never-ending contradictions of the Soviets. Admiral Stevens' sober but fascinating account of his tour as Naval Attaché of the American Embassy in Moscow from 1947 to 1949 is an important contribution to Western literature on the Soviet Union. In language ranging from the poetic to the ponderous, Admiral Stevens gives to the student of the Soviets what has rarely been available heretofore.

The book is the more remarkable because the wealth it offers was gathered with no "objectionable" activities on the part of the Admiral in the face of constant surveillance. Contributing factors, no doubt, were the naval officer's ability to endure discomforts which appalled most diplomats and his freedom from that obsession enjoyed by most Americans: that a car is a natural appendage without which one cannot travel about

RUSSIAN ASSIGNMENT, by Leslie Clark Stevens, Vice Admiral, U.S.N. (Ret.). (Atlantic—Little, Brown; $5.75).

town. Plus, of course, the Admiral's excellent command of the Russian language.

Glimpses of the life of the average Soviet citizen, his craving for free conversation, his innate decency and common humanity warped and twisted by the impositions of the Soviet regime—all these are sketched for the reader. No apologies for the government, no attacks on the people, just first-hand experience, not thrice-told tales. There is in the book a charity which leads the reviewer at times to protest (in reference to the diplomatic corps at least) that Stevens is overfair, until one realizes on reflection that he is essentially a man who sees people in the best light.

From the superlative ballet, through the jammed metro, in talks with the odd student, the porters, the peasants, the small officials, the naïve and the sophisticated, those who were met and with whom the Admiral talked, is synthesized a usable facsimile of what a cross section of the Russian people was like a given period. Though it may seem exaggerated, the fact is that if anything the picture is underdrawn.

Few Americans, for instance, can realize the feeling one has when being "followed," when one acquires a "little shadow that goes in and out with thee." Rumors of war, as cyclic as the potato harvest, incessant propaganda, the staged parades, the byways of Moscow, from the twentieth to the seventeenth century in one short block. In increasing tempo as his tour draws to a close and his knowledge and ability to speak Russian approaches that of the native, Admiral Stevens relives the thousands of incidents and sketches his impressions for the future perusal of his people.

In sum the book makes two valuable contributions to one's understanding of the problems of the United States *vis-a-vis* the Soviets. First, it provides a valid, if limited, framework upon which the reader can begin to erect an understanding of the Russian people under Soviet dominance. Second, it points up the unbelievable conditions under which Americans and other diplomats work in the Soviet Union.

The narrative does suffer at times from the same disjointedness which characterizes the life it describes.

However, disregarding any other contributions Admiral Stevens may have made in his professional capacity during this tour in Moscow, the American people receive full value in this book alone. The classical definition of a military attache's assignment is the furtherance of understanding and good will between the armed forces of his own and the country wherein he is a guest. In the broadest sense *Russian Assignment* does that for us, not on a limited service basis, but as a people. It is only to be regretted that it cannot enjoy free circulation among the Soviets so that they too could have the opportunity to see themselves as a Western guest sees them.

TOBIAS R. PHILBIN

YOUNG PEOPLE'S HEBREW HISTORY

by Louis Wallis

Young people in college and high school have easy access to scholarly books on the history of non-Hebrew nations; but they are kept from knowing what scholarship has discovered about Hebrew history. This appalling cultural situation is the outcome of a hush-hush policy which permits the general public to carry in mind a fantastic, artificial idea of the Jewish historical background.

From Harvard University, the Chairman of the Semitic Department writes as follows to the author of this new book on Hebrew history for young people:—"You have brilliantly clarified a very complex and often obscure situation. The conflict between Baalism and Yahwism, involving a struggle for social justice, and the conflict between Ephraim and Judah, are shown in your admirable summary to have been basic in Hebrew history. At the same time, the reader learns many a lesson of great value for solving the problems of our own day."

(Signed) Robert H. Pfeiffer.

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A HISTORY OF FEAR

FEAR was almost the only force sufficiently strong in Benjamin Constant to bring him to any decisive action in the course of his fifteen years of vacillation between two remarkable ladies, each of them resolved to have him for herself. He set it all down, with lucid insight and great candor, in this little "novel." The characters are thinly disguised by fictitious names, but the account is an analytical autobiographical narrative, in no way fictional. It is a history of fears, recounted without fear.

CECILE, by Benjamin Constant (New Directions; $2.50).

For nearly a hundred and fifty years, until 1950, the manscript of this beautiful bit of unfinished work by the author of *Adolphe* and *Cahier Rouge* lay hidden in a trunkfull of papers. Constant himself had forgotten where he left it. Eventually doubt grew that it had ever been actually written. It was known that he planned it, but the two friends with whom he had discussed it left extravagantly mistaken descriptions of the theme and form.

It is a morbid enough story of indecisiveness and selfishness, of deception and cruelty, but the light that plays about it, the light of Constant's discernment and wit, becomes in itself the remembered quality of the book. In a like manner Constant's penetration and honesty in telling the tale of his own weakness and duplicity somehow transforms his own character in one's mind, and as it were redeems it.

Attached to the small, idle court of the Duke of Bronsvic and uninterestedly married to a lady whose attention is chiefly devoted to an eighteen year old Russian prince, Constant, the narrator, attaches himself to the youthful Cécile, who is married by her sister's arrangement to that same sister's lover. When Cécile, by divorcing this example, makes herself available for marriage to Benjamin, himself newly divorced, the great shilly-shallying begins. Leaving Cécile confident of his love for her, he allows himself to be dissuaded from his project by the influence of a lady whose only motive appears to be the "secret mutual hatred between women," and later abandons it altogether when he meets and falls passionately in love with Mme. de Staël, called here Mme. de Malbée. Meek Cécile then waits, forgotten, and forgives; marries wretchedly again and again divorces for love of Benjamin. But she is put off time after time, waits some more, forgives and forgives again, during the fifteen years of his quarrelsome affair with Mme. de Malbée.

Meanwhile the weakwilled Constant grows ever more impatient in servitude to his overriding and menacing mistress —and ever more afraid of her. His feeling for Cécile appears to be nourished chiefly by fear of losing her; each time that fear is diminished his longing for her tends to go with him. But Cécile is as tenacious as she is gentle and pursues him relentlessly by her very submissiveness. He finally escapes to Cécile from Mme. de Malbée—only to decide that he wishes to return to *her*, for "only six more months!" This is finally too much for Cécile, who collapses in apparently mortal illness.

The manuscript ends here, but we may assume that the possibility of losing Cécile to death so affrighted the variable Benjamin that upon her partial recovery he at last brought himself to marry her. The narrative is swift and economical; every word is telling and perfectly placed. Three remarkable characterizations are achieved in the space of ninety pages. The style is elegant in its clarity and simplicity. The whole thing is a joy. There is an excellent introduction by the Constant authority, Alfred Roullin, who also provides useful notes in an appendix. The translation, by Norman Cameron, is also excellent.

S. M. FITZGERALD

AUTUMN ON BROADWAY

by Eric Bentley

1 MR. NATHAN long ago established the right of the drama critic to leave after the first act. The time has now come for the critic to claim the right of staying away altogether. After all, deciding what we can do without is one of the major tasks of life, and it can be performed quite rationally. Just as I could explain why I shall not read the next novel of Steinbeck, I could explain why I did not see *Red Rainbow, Late Love*, and *Carnival in Flanders*.

2 To see *Oklahoma!* after ten years was, for one spectator, to feel quite differently—and much better—about it. You never "just see" anything. You see through spectacles which the world provides, and in 1943 the world provided you with a lot of chatter about Grassroots and an "American *Magic Flute*." If you brought to the theatre a knowledge of the Austrian *Magic Flute*, you were bound to be let down. If, on the other hand, you bring a knowledge of the musical comedies of the period 1943-53, Hammerstein's — or perhaps one should rather say Rodgers' — name leads all the rest.

3 It has been remarked that Ethel Waters' place is not "at home"—as she currently pretends to be in her one-woman show—but in the theatre. Yet her producers could retort that their notion was based on a thorough study of modern mores. We like poets more than we like poetry. Our interest in public men is chiefly in their private lives. If we depersonalize actresses by astronomical metaphor, we at once personalize them by wallowing in the details of their marital life. And there is a great modern principle which reads: everything should be everything else—Einstein should be a political pundit, movie stars should tell us about theology. If the producers' notion failed, it must be that Miss Waters is not very good at this sort of work.

4 *The Strong Are Lonely* is a translation of *Das heilige Experiment* by Fritz Hochwaelder. Like the same author's *Public Prosecutor* which I saw in Vienna, it is a teasing play because, while the author is always stumbling on great themes, he is always stumbling. One respects Margaret Webster (the director) and Eve Le Gallienne (the re-translator) insofar as they wished to say something to a public that rarely has anything said to it. But the upshot of such an occasion is only that everyone cries: "You see? There's no public here for serious European drama." Why will backers squander money on second-raters like Tabori and Hochwaelder when they couldn't lose any more on O'Casey or Brecht?

5 *The Little Hut* has also suggested to many that American taste is *sui generis;* but there is no reason why it should have. This is a very funny play on any continent. If Nancy Mitford, in her translation, has assimilated it to a British tradition of humor, that humor has constantly appealed to Americans—

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in, for example, a whole succession of movies from the early Hitchcock to the most recent Alec Guinness. It isn't Miss Mitford's fault that her leading lady in New York has little English and less humor. At that, it isn't chiefly the acting that is wrong; apart from the leading lady, it is well above Broadway average. The chief blame for the failure must surely rest with the director, Peter Brook, who has done, not too little, but far, far too much: a very live little farce has been murdered by a massive production. I should also put Oliver Messel's set on the debit side. It is gorgeous and it is clever. But it strikes precisely that note of self-congratulation—of pompous whimsy, ponderous cuteness—which is the ruin of the evening. André Roussin, the author, would have to say: a poor thing but not mine own.

6 Many of the shows which Brook and Messel have lent their names to in England bear the stamp of the new English aestheticism, seriously unserious, and therefore ungaily gay. *L'invitation au château* in Paris was a charming trifle; in London it acquired the sort of ponderosity which New York can now witness in *The Little Hut;* it had become the *idea* of a charming trifle, abstract, lifeless. Oh yes, in a sense, the charm and the triviality had each been multiplied by a hundred; but not every six-tier wedding cake tastes better than a bun.

The new aestheticism differs from the old (Wilde's) in that it is directed at the whole educated middle class; it is in no sense avant garde. It can therefore make no headway in America, for the middle class here is unashamedly sentimental and earnest; it likes even a musical (*South Pacific*) dosed with humanitarian ideas. In America lighter works do not smell of decay; they reek with sentiment. Our authors cannot see what fun it is to fly the trapeze through a vacuum like Cocteau and his English epigones. An "aesthetic" author endeavors to mean nothing; an American author endeavors to mean everything.

For example, the authors of *The Teahouse of the August Moon,* John Patrick and Vern Sneider The show was heralded with a glum essay in the N. Y. *Times* and is punctuated by solemn animadversions on the same theme, to wit, the failure of the west to understand the east. I remember feeling sorry for Thomas Heggen when Joshua Logan made of his melancholy reporting a histrionic romp that combined every feature of musical comedy except music. I can say nothing for or against Mr. Sneider, not having read his book. What is clear from merely seeing the play is that it lives exactly as the final version of *Mister Roberts* lived: only as theatre, only in the world of musical comedy.

And in that world it lives as powerfully as *Mister Roberts* only perhaps through one character, a *Mister Roberts* character, the bad captain—here reincarnate as a colonel, splendidly played by Paul Ford, who makes you laugh every time he speaks and sometimes when he doesn't. Of the other actors the only one who is (or has a chance to be?) more than adequate is David Wayne (who also somewhat spoils his performance by excessive cuteness). But I hasten to agree that it's a nice show, my objections to a nice show being only the normal objections to a nice girl. I think the devil should find more dangerous work for the hands of a Bobby Lewis or a Peter Larkin to do. I don't mean that light entertainment doesn't deserve the best talent. For that matter this show isn't light enough. I find it lies a little heavy on the stomach. Perhaps because I had enough tea and sympathy last week.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

DRINKING IN COLLEGE, by Robert Straus and Seldon D. Bacon (Yale; $4).

An intelligent and thorough study of a fascinating subject, with only the customary obtrusive but necessary tables to limit its attractiveness. The title is a misnomer if ever we heard one; it seems that "For the great majority of college students, drinking does not start in college, does not take place within the college, and shows no collegiate pattern."

In the final chapters, the authors let loose with a variety of opinions and interpretations, deploring the "old temperance talk" and the lack of an efficient, unified leadership of Wets to counteract the Drys, and in one unguarded moment of ingenuousness, permit themselves the disarming notion that "alcohol does not appear to do anything for youth which cannot be achieved more effectively and with greater social acceptance in other ways."

LETTERS ON ART AND LITERATURE, by François Mauriac (Philosophical Library; $3).

Those who like to hear Mauriac preach the virtues of Catholicism in general and his own tenets in particular will enjoy this collection more than those who, misled by the title, are curious about his artistic views. Of the latter, there is little mention; indeed, each letter is almost a tract.

There are other irritations: There is no table of contents, none of the letters is dated, and three bear no salutation. The recipients who are stated include Camus, Cocteau, Pierre Schaeffer and Jacques Rivière. The translation, by Mario A. Pei, from *Lettres Ouvertes,* is excellent.

Notes on the Critics

WILLIAM BECKER, who has just returned from a year in Europe, is writing a book on Yeats. ALFRED FRIENDLY is Assistant Managing Editor of the Washington *Post.* JOHN HAZARD is a professor at Harvard. Lt. Col. TOBIAS R. PHILBIN was in Russia from 1947 to 1949.

Charles Poore of the New York Times says: "Epigrammatic... a brilliantly cantankerous foray against the powers and prejudices that endanger the free flow of democratic procedures."

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To Our Readers

E.S.D.'s letter, on this page, compels me to tell the truth about the flying saucer.

Late one night, a month ago, two travelers drove up to the filling station that faces the field of my farm. *"Did you see it!"* they shouted. "What?" said the sleepy owner: "A huge machine came down in the field, and as soon as it touched shot up with a blinding light!" The cynical Virginian smirked: "Flying saucer I suppose!" Angry and fearful the two men drove into the darkness.

At first I took a pretty calm view of the whole episode. No evil eye peered in my window; no crater simmered in my pasture, as in the *War of the Worlds*. But soon I remembered a story written by my 11-year-old son, David, in his magazine, *The Green Spring Gazette*. He called it *The Mystery Plane from Mars* and it begins:

> Peter McRielly was cruising around in his little Piper Cub super cruiser when all of a sudden he heard the roar of a jet coming towards him. Peter got scared so he swerved down—and just in time too! For about a hundred feet over his head he saw a saucer shaped object tearing along at a speed of about six hundred miles per hour . . .

Peter it turned out was a scientist. The saucer shaped object was of course a flying saucer from Mars, and its mission was to capture Peter so he could tell the Martians how they could take away the Earth's water supply.

I realized then that it was by design that the saucer landed in my field. Mars was in need of a good Journal of Opinion. Naturally I informed the authorities.

The trouble is that no one is concerned. The National Security Council and the Joint Chiefs seem preoccupied with other problems. I haven't heard a word yet from Project Saucer at Dayton or Project Magnet in the Pentagon; from the Unidentified Objects Sighting Committee in California, or even from my neighbor Major Keyhoe. Frank Edwards is one of the very few men who appreciates the significance of these happenings. He shares my suspicion that it was more than a coincidence that the saucer landed in my field. For the moment, E.S.D., that is all that I can say.

* * *

Only a fool would suppose that he is always right. I hope we are not foolish. We suppose at least that among the contributions that a Journal of Opinion can make is to clarify issues through intelligent debate.

We seem to have started a worthwhile and exciting debate on the subject of teacher training and education. Alice Keliher's student seminar in New York has taken our editorial and is preparing a reply which we hope to print; also a further contribution from William Heard Kilpatrick and Professor Stripling of the University of Florida.

M. S.

From Our Readers

► Flying Saucers

Please make a statement in the *New Republic* confirming or denying the report on Frank Edward's radio program, that a "Flying Saucer" landed in the yard of the editor's home and then took off.

I am very much interested in the truth of these reports.

Berkeley, Calif. E.S.D.

► "Facts Forum"

Every week, on WOR in New York and presumably on other stations of the Mutual network, there is a program at 6.15 p.m. Saturday, that really strikes a new low. This program is ostensibly an impartial presentation of the *facts* of both sides on issues of current debate, and uses the word "facts" in its title.

Yet, having been in a situation in which I could not avoid hearing this program most Saturdays of August and September, and into October, I must state that this "Facts Forum" program is wholly misnamed. It is neither a Forum nor does it deal with facts. It is a partisan presentation of the isolationist point of view on international affairs, with a disregard for facts worthy of either Mr. Vishinsky or Senator McCarthy.

Ostensibly "both sides" of a current question are presented each Saturday at 6.15 to 6.30. Actually, for the side that the program favors, a strong case is made out—always against American co-operation in anything international, and specially always against the United Nations. Epithets of an objurgative nature, through polite in language, are freely thrown in. The other side is presented without facts at all, simply citing alleged "opinions" which in my experience I have yet to find any one actually holding.

This "Facts Forum" would not be so bad if it adopted an honest name and did not pretend to be impartial. As it is, even the misinterpretations of Fulton Lewis Jr. do less harm, than does this sophomoric initiation of high-school debating.

Verona, N. J. STEPHEN G. RICH

► Justice Warren

Not only as a liberal, but as an ex-Californian, I was momentarily depressed at the tone of Eugene Gressman's recent article, "The Coming Trials of Justice Warren"; it implied so clearly that Mr. Warren, though not yet tried, will be found wanting.

The models which Mr. Gressman mentions, and which Mr. Warren seems unlikely to match, are John Marshall and Charles Evans Hughes. "The Court," he observes, "still shows the definite imprint of their inspired leadership and their breadth of character and learning."

But I have taken heart; for I find that the *New Republic*, commenting on Charles Evans Hughes' qualifications for Chief Justice in February, 1930, was even more skeptical than is Mr. Gressman about the former Governor of California.

Said the *New Republic* then: "We need hardly say that Charles Evans Hughes is not the man the editors of the *New Republic* would have chosen out of all the available candidates as head of the country's most important court. Our criticism of Mr. Hughes' philosophy, and of many of his past official acts, has been made too often to need repetition here."

New York City GILBERT A. HARRISON

► Return to Normalcy!

The victory in Wisconsin is only the start of a reverse trend, with similar victory for George Arnold in the 24th Congressional District in Los Angeles almost in sight. Arnold, running for the seat vacated by Los Angeles' new Mayor Norris Poulson, opposes two Republicans in a special election on November 10th with no primary. Lipscomb, the strongest opponent, has Republican Party support but the fury of the *LA Times*. The son-in-law of Drew Pearson and son of Thurman Arnold, New Deal trust-buster, could use money now. Those interested in a return to normalcy may send contributions to Arnold-for-Congress, c/o Edmund Cooke, Campaign Treasurer, 416 West 8th Street, Los Angeles.

Los Angeles, Calif. EDMUND COOKE

► Foolton Lewis

Moral of the Wisconsin election: You can't Foolton Lewis most of the people most of the time.

Washington, D. C. IRVING BRANT

► Theatre Criticism

I much prefer to confine my praise of the *New Republic* to subscribing to it, reading it and to discussions of its contents. Letters of praise, even in case of especially outstanding articles, are not my wont.

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But I would like to thank you for Eric Bentley's theatre articles. It seems to me that Mr. Bentley is one of a few people writing on the theatre in America worthy of the title of critic. Against the legion of unprincipled, unqualified, and exhibitionist "reviewers," the clarification that his work provides, is, I believe, of great importance, indeed, is indispensable.
New York City MARTIN T. WILLIAMS

Bandwagon

The furor which Democratic politicians have been raising around Republican "farm policies" is pure windbaggery, and will be recognized as such by thinking farmers, we hope.

In actuality there is no such thing as Republican farm policy. – *The Evening World-Herald (Omaha, Nebr.), September 22, 1953.*

Then she (Mrs. Vincent Impellitteri) turned to her husband and said:

"Vincent, I think you should tell the people who is for you."

"Betty, I'm happy you asked that question," said Mr. Impellitteri. He then enumerated such supporters as former Postmaster-General James A. Farley, Bernard Baruch and Kings County Attorney Miles F. McDonald. Then Mrs. Impellitteri asked her next question:

"And now, Vincent, who might be against you?"

"I'm glad you asked that question," he said. He then answered it succinctly: "People who don't believe in the American way of life." – *The New York Times, September 13, 1953.*

In the early days of the "pacification" Franco put to death some Communist traitors and other brutal adherents of the Russian cause. . . . However, he could not have been guilty of bloodshed and persecution on a scale comparable to the Russian horrors in the Baltic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania because the number of persons available for violence was relatively tiny. – *Westbrook Pegler, The Miami Herald, August 22, 1953.*

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e e cummings, ¡ & *my parents* (an aesthetic self-portrait in prose)

Marianne Moore, *The Carter in the Mire* (a new poem being a translation from La Fontaine's *Fables*)

John Crowe Ransom, *Symbolism: American Style* (an essay)

William O. Douglas reviews *United Nations: Today and Tomorrow* by Eleanor Roosevelt and W. A. DeWitt

Arthur Mizener reviews new English Novels

Albert Mollegen reviews *Christian Realism and Practical Politics* by Reinhold Niebuhr

Herbert Read reviews *The Future of Architecture* by Frank Lloyd Wright

Delmore Schwartz reviews *The Collected Poems* of Conrad Aiken

Robert Penn Warren reviews *The Adventures of Augie March* by Saul Bellow

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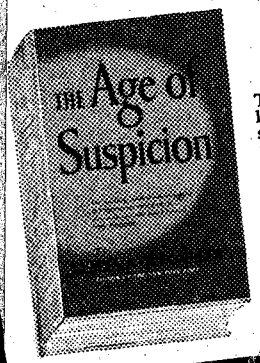

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